Volume LXXXII CHICAGO, February 20, 1919 Number 24

UNITY

Freedom, Fellowship and Character in Religion

GOD'S MAN.

The times are anguished, for man feels the press
Of his divinity; through travail pains
The urge is goading him till he confess
The splendor that is crying through his veins.
Uncover, man! Thy heaven self is gold.
Gladden the eyes of Him who made thee good
In that first morning when the worlds were told
And Primal Word pronounced thine angelhood!

Dust! Why, the Future laughs at our dull sight;
Laughs at the judgment linking man to sod—
Damning him ever with decay and blight
When at his center burns the blaze of God!
The Force that flung the far suns into space
Pushes and throbs through an eternal plan;
The Mind that chains the singing stars in place
Implores fulfilment in the soul of man.

O God, give us the whirlwind vision! Let us see,
Clear-eyed, that flame creation we call earth,
And man, the shining image, like to Thee.
Let the new age come swiftly to the birth,
When this—Thy world—shall know itself divine;
And mortals, waking from their dream of sense,
Shall ask no proof, no message, and no sign—
Man's larger Sight the unanswerable evidence!

The Hour Has Struck. —*Angela Morgan.*

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXXII. THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1919 NUMBER 24

LIFE EVERLASTING.

Whoso standeth close to God,
Whoso standeth true,
So that His all kindling light
Shines forever through;—

Whoso liveth for the world,
Serving, strong and true,
While the boundless power of God
Pours forever through;—

They whose work hath filled our hearts
With courage, love and cheer,
With words that teach ten thousand lives
To bring earth's heaven near;—

They are part of Human Life—
Ours in heart and head.
They are part of the Living God—
They are never dead.

—*Charlotte Perkins Gilman.*

The Forerunner.

In another column we publish some questions and comments which have occurred to one of our contributors upon reading the new Constitution recently adopted at Paris. Later we hope to publish some adequate discussion of the problems contained in the Covenant of the League.

The following tender lines are from the pen of the widow of Joyce Kilmer, one of the many poets of rich promise who gave up their lives in the war:

I shall not be afraid any more,
Either by night or day;
What would it profit me to be afraid
With you away?

Now I am brave. In the dark night alone,
All through the house I go,
Locking the doors and making windows fast
When sharp winds blow.

For there is only sorrow in my heart,
There is no room for fear.
But how I wish I were afraid again,
My dear, my dear!

We are glad to give added publicity to a "made-in-Chicago" labor and reconstruction platform, which we reprint in the Field. Drawn up by Frank P. Walsh and Basil Manly, these "Fourteen Points of Labor" have been enthusiastically adopted first by the Chicago Federation of Labor, and by the Minnesota and Illinois State Federations, as well as by the Non-Partisan League and the new Labor Party for which it forms the platform. It marks not only the entrance of labor into the political field but an important breaking away on the part of a large and influential portion of the Federation of Labor from the conservative and opportunist program Mr. Gompers has of late sought to make the permanent policy of the National Federation.

The New York *Nation* offers the following witty and interesting comment on Russia:

The New York *World*, a journal not generally in the habit of lending its columns to the propagation of anarchism, has published a series of cable dispatches from Berlin, written by Robert Minor, well known in New York radical circles as a young man of frankly anarchist sympathies. Robert Minor is just out of Russia with the latest Bolshevik outrages upon the tip of his pen. The Bolsheviki have not killed off the bourgeoisie, it appears. On the contrary, members of the middle class are serving under the Soviet government as directors and managers of the leading industries, which are all publicly owned. Worse yet, the Soviets have begun to function as sober organs of government, and disorder has well-nigh disappeared. "The initiative," reports Mr. Minor, "which used to be exercised in the streets, has been transferred back to governmental halls. Disorder has practically ceased within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the government. When the red flags wave in Moscow all is harmonious and official and well policed." The members of the Red army, according to Mr. Minor, are submitting to discipline with an unaccountable willingness. The officers, drawn not only from the former upper class but from "the Chicago and New York sweat-shops" as well, are generally respected and obeyed. When the Bolshevik army, singing the Internationale, swung into Minsk, "the working class rose to meet the invader with open arms." Mr. Minor cannot understand it. It is easy to appreciate that an honest anarchist might well be irritated by a disciplined, integrated government; but what is the rest of the world going to make of this bit of anti-Bolshevist propaganda?

In the *Dearborn Independent*, the Ford International Weekly for February 15, "Mr. Ford's Own Page" glows with common sense which if applied might go a long way towards solving the labor troubles which are distracting the world at the present time. We take a few extracts from Mr. Ford's article:

Wrong personal relations are the greatest obstruction that a man can meet. Almost any other kind of obstacle he can face with a high heart; but broken relations between himself and his fellows afflict his nature like a wound.

We were meant to get along one with another. We were meant to be in harmony. And no other proof of this is needed than the fact that the better we know each other the more we trust each other; and the larger the number of people who work in harmony, the greater the results of their work. . . .

The workman can be made to feel that he is under a driver or under a leader. If he feels that he is under a driver, you have simply pinched up his initiative and good-will to such an extent that he cannot, at least does not, do his best. . . .

Now, if you simply want the people who help you in your shop to know who is boss, you can let them know it all right—know it in such a way that they will never forget it nor forgive you. . . .

The authority which men respect is the authority of superior knowledge and good-will. . . .

It is not the *drive* of the boss that makes production, it is the loyal good-will of the workers. . . .

The day is coming when good-will shall be the most valuable asset a man can have. . . .

The capitalist is just a man. The laborer is just a man. They are born, grow, marry, live and die in the same way. Their joys are pretty much alike, and so are their troubles. They are plain human beings. Circumstances have placed one in one job, the other in another job. But in the end it is always the same job. . . .

You can no more indict a class than you can indict a nation. Good and bad are mixed up in all classes. The only class line any sound-minded man ought to recognize is the line drawn by decency and morality. . . .

Men are not divided by the kind of work they do, but by the kind of men they are. . . .

Half the disharmony in human relations to-day is founded on assumption, guesses, mis-information. . . .

One of the regrettable and yet inevitable results of our modern industrial development is that it places us so far apart. We all remember the time when we knew every person in the shop; it was a kind of family. We knew about good luck and bad luck at home; we knew about new babies and about the sicknesses and deaths; we had a fellow-feeling for each other.

Human beings have not changed. Human relations are just as necessary now as they ever were. And men have not become machines in the meantime. We must contrive some way of retaining the human touch in industry. We shall need it as long as we need the human element and that will be until the end of time. . . .

We need better personal relations everywhere. It is the great need of the world just now. All that looks dark on the horizon of modern life is really the result of bad personal relations. And it can be cleared up by a new growth of genuine friendship among us.

That, after all, is said and done, is what the brotherhood of man means—we trust each other, we wish well to each other, we help each other.

American Idealism

Another birthday anniversary of Abraham Lincoln has come and gone. Is it not well to recall one of his immortal sentences,—his, albeit Webster and Parker had given voice to the same idea; his, because Lincoln gave widespread currency to it: "Let us here highly resolve . . . that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth"?

That is the basic principle of the New Testament,—the law of universal righteousness and justice; it is the very essence of the American ideal. But is it the principle and the ideal of today? Certainly not, so far as practice is concerned. What we have is government of the people, by parties and classes, for the benefit, largely, of those who rule such organizations.

This is not democracy, nor American idealism, nor the spirit of the New Testament.

What is democracy? Equality of all under the law,—the laws of God and nature, and the laws enacted by men. What is American idealism? Equality of opportunity under the Constitution and the laws enacted under it. What is the spirit of the New Testament? The liberty wherewith Christ hath set men free,—the unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace, and righteousness of life.

These ideals men have not, as yet, attained; not even in America. What is being promulgated as an ideal to be consummated is the rule of a dominant class,—now plutocratic, now proletariat, and always autocratic. Can any such method be called democratic, or American, or Christian? Democrats, Americans, and Christians stand for freedom and humanity; autocracy stands for slavery. And slavery is always the same whether the ruler be in velvet or in jeans. The free soul demands self-government, not class government, nor party government; and until self-government be attained, there can be no such thing as liberty.

We are told that modern machinery and methods preclude the possibility of any such liberty as contemplated by Democracy, Americanism, and Christianity. Why, pray, should men become the vassals of the very machinery, material and political, that they themselves create? It is not machinery that enslaves men, but the centralization of the power of machinery that causes the mischief. Are not American citizens competent to sufficiently decentralize that power to be rid of its thraldom? If not, then they ought to be slaves. But they are competent to the task. Simply create machines that minister to the *home* and *local* situations everywhere, and cease the struggle for bigness and the economic dominion of the world. And, to such ends, look to the *land* problem and to *transportation* questions. Free the land from speculative holdings, whereby men in idleness can reap the benefit accruing from increase of values created by those who productively use it; and put transportation under a Comptroller of Transportation whose business, under adequate laws, shall be to see that all charges for transportation over the public highways are just and equitable. And then, as the foundation of such equity and justice, rid ourselves of *partisan* government and set up in its place true *representative democracy,* as was contemplated by the founders of the Republic. Such government would be of and by and for the People. Land reform means the home and its security; transportation reform means freedom and equity for the shipping of persons and all the products of man's labor whether of hand or head; government reform means really popular government, in contradistinction to party government or personal government. Until these reforms are instituted we shall merely remain slaves to land and transportation and governmental monopoly. Classes, of whatever nature, are simply rulers and autocrats, and those they rule, helpless slaves. Neither Lincoln, nor true Americans, nor real Christians, ever accepted such a situation.

Let us, then, in the name of Humanity, once again highly resolve that ours, and all the world that will have it so, shall be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people,—a representative democracy that shall be, also, an *aristodemocracy,* the Best for All!

A. W. Littlefield.

Needham, Mass., February 12, 1919.

News from Europe

British Miners' Demands.—At the conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain resolutions were passed making large demands relating to hours and wages. The *Manchester Guardian* correspondent writes of the new program adopted by the conference that

"it is a demand for a State grant equal to full trade union wages to be paid to demobilized or displaced miners until work is found for them; the administration of the machinery of the resettlement of industry by joint pit and district committees of mine owners and workers; the statutory enforcement of a six-hour day; and the nationalization of the mines.

"The program is to be put before the Government, but nobody in the conference this morning seemed to expect much encouragement from the new House of Commons. The armistice has left the field clear for a trade union policy unhampered by the war restraints. The debates at the Miners' Conference are only another sign of the new phase which that policy is assuming. One finds men and districts with a reputation for caution and even conservatism advocating full and rather ruthless use of the weapon of organization to secure their aims. Respect for parliamentary action is obscured by a new doctrine of force. It is a doctrine not altogether without distinguished backing, and miners do not forget that it was the present Prime Minister who told Labor to be 'audacious.'"

Mr. Lloyd George has his hands full at present. Whether the "audacious" policy will succeed when it is turned against the Government depends mainly on the ability of the Prime Minister to outwit the miners by setting up a Royal Commission to inquire into their grievances. This would be a strategic move, one that might postpone the threatened crisis.

The New Spirit in Germany.—Count von Brockdorff-Rantzan, referring to the negotiations held recently at Trèves for a prolongation of the armistice, said to the press representatives in Berlin:

"No matter how heavy may be the claims imposed upon us in the near future, there would only be a season for despair if we had not sufficient confidence in our strength to go as a united people to a final peace conference. When our Armistice Commission concluded the first armistice treaty, it thought it saw in President Wilson's fourteen points, especially in the idea of a League of Nations, a basis for the restoration of the world's peace.

"The idea of a League of Nations has been taken up by us in that spirit of idealism which marks the awakening of the German people to a new form of State, and with the same ideals we are also today standing behind this idea.

"Circumstances forced us, the vanquished, to accept under protest or to refuse the conditions which the enemy forced upon us at the military armistice negotiations. Nobody, however, can force us to abandon our belief that the moral forces of all countries are thirsting for the re-establishment of order between States and that we are certain of the approval of the noblest spirits throughout the world.

"As regards the creation of a great and united family of nations, it needs no reflection to see that in such a world, whose social life will be based upon quite different principles from those hitherto employed in the methods and ideas of politics, there is no place for the outraging of the self-determination right of peoples. It is also self-evident that this principle must be equally applied to every people. Any action to the contrary would mean the sowing of fresh hatred among the peoples; it would, moreover, only strengthen those forces which assert the necessity of a violent social world-revolution and terrorist dictatorship by the proletariat in order to produce at the last conditions worthy of mankind.

"The final victory of democracy in the world is of great consequence to us. This victory cannot be brought about by petty means, by intrigues, by the antechamber secrecies which the old system loved to employ.

"It would be as little promoted by the attempt proposed by some newspapers which do not yet believe that the old system is gone forever to create confusion in the ranks of our opponents. If we first had to bring confusion into the ranks of our enemies in order to make them recognize that in the long run only what is good can last in the world, then we would not take it for granted that they possessed the essential quality necessary for being a part of a League of Nations—namely, moral conviction."

Some German junkers seem to think the day of autocracy and militarism is over. The sentiment expressed by the Count is excellent. It might be a page from one of President Wilson's speeches. How European diplomats have fallen beneath his eloquence! Certainly the schoolmaster has been abroad for some purpose.

Portugal.—The revolt in Portgual is serious and extensive, and it is not yet over. The revolutionary movement now in progress is apparently directed both against the military junta and against the reactionary and quasi-royalist elements with whom Sidonis Paes (the late President) was identified. Portugal has a long revolutionary tradition, and the difficulties spring in large measure from the fact that the bulk of the Portuguese are illiterate. That is a very uncertain foundation for a form of government which demands political ripeness.

It was said on a famous occasion that it is for the educated to maintain their order and impose their law. That was the condition which caused the great war.

The Condition of Austria.—The food and coal questions are of paramount interest to those who wish to see normal conditions restored speedily in Central Europe. The British papers are full of shocking stories of hunger and destitution. A correspondent in Vienna writes a harrowing narrative of scarcity, and pleads for the policy of Mr. Hoover to be put immediately into practice. He says:

"But so far as we yet know it is Vienna, with her two and one-quarter millions, that approaches most nearly the condition of Petrograd. Colonel Summer Hayes, chief of the British Mission to Prisoners of War in Austria, pauses in his special work to depict the heartrending scenes he confronts. Starving mothers bring to birth babes that die literally in hundreds, lacking milk and even swaddling clothes. On December 6th Dr. Bauer, the Foreign Secretary, exposed the position in its full gravity in the German Austrian National Assembly. Even should foodstuffs promised by the Entente and America arrive in time it would not help, since there is no coal to work the railways and factories, hardly even for domestic use. The economic war being waged on them by the surrounding provinces has cut the coal supply. Could not the Entente bring pressure to bear on the Czecho-Slovaks, the Bohemians, the Jugo-Slavs to raise this economic siege?"

The profound depression caused by Dr. Bauer's speech found vent in a statement by Count Czernin to a representative of the American Associated Press, through whom he tries to "make known to the world" the "untenable" character of their situation. He dreads social upheaval if food and coal do not come in time. Coal is deficient by 1,000,000 tons a month. Vienna's plight is pitiable.

The condition of Germany is less desperate; indeed, Bavaria has just sent 10,000 tons of flour to German Austria. But her millions are so many; her danger is imminent. Three and a half years' hunger has gnawed at her vitals, and bodily resistance has reached its lowest ebb. Her babies die or are not born. Her old and young and weak are passing rapidly away. One after another her foremost men and women have spoken, crying across the frontiers as the drowning cry to human pity.

The military and naval experts who drew up the armistice terms were doubtless right from their point of view.

the customs and traditions of warfare. They merely omitted to study the human bearing, did not stay to consider the intricacies of modern communications and supply, did not realize the disastrous effects on the defeated people. It was simply not their business. The question for civilians now is: Shall their view prevail, or shall humanity condemn it? Russia may be beyond help. It is possible to plead for German and Austrian women and children because practical help can be given and at once. For instance:

1. Sea fishing, forbidden since the armistice, can be restored.

2. Delivery of rolling stock might stand over till the food crisis has been surmounted.

3. The decree of the occupying troops cutting communications between the Rhineland and Germany, stopping milk and supplies, could be cancelled.

4. Above all, as Mr. Hoover advised, the blockade should be raised.

Weeks may elapse before the 2,500,000 tons of cargo space now destined by the Allies to carry food to Germany can return from foreign ports. The German Government is watching its dwindling reserves in desperate fear of what may intervene before those ships can come. "We have passed a great milestone," said Mr. Hoover; "we should get on the path of peace."

Bolshevism and Socialism.—We hear little enough about the activities of those politicians who have made Switzerland during the war a rendezvous, where perhaps the deepest, most profound consideration has been given to Europe's problems. Not only has Switzerland been a place of refuge for many dissentients, but Berne itself has been a kind of clearing-house of ideas. A few weeks ago the Swiss Social Democratic party elected a new president, Mr. Gustav Müller, mayor of the city of Berne. He triumphed over the Bolshevik element in the party, and in speaking of the attitude of Socialists towards the Lausanne Conference, said in *The Manchester Guardian*:

"The Socialist movement of Switzerland, and, I think, of the entire world, is today passing through a most critical period. It is at the parting of the ways. It is either Lenin or Marx. I say this despite the fact that I am opposed to Bolshevism, and was just elected president of the Social and Democratic party of Switzerland on a platform opposed to Bolshevik tactics. I am simply stating facts.

"Bolshevism is not a question of individuals, but of conditions. The new conditions which the war has brought about are challenging our old tactics. Bolshevism is at the gate rapping for admission as a method or tactic of Socialism in place of the evolutionary methods which we have followed hitherto.

"Whether Bolshevism, with its rule by a revolutionary minority that does not shrink from terroristic methods, will be adopted by the Socialist movement in place of the democratic and parliamentary tactics we pursued hitherto, depends entirely on the sort of Magna Charta the Allies and America are going to give Central Europe in the next few weeks or months, whether the Magna Charta of the New Europe be truly democratic, in a sense that will reach down into the humblest home of the laborer and better his lot. Bolshevism is not likely to find favor with the masses, for nobody likes to play with a loaded gun. But if the majority of the masses begin to lose faith in the sincerity of the present governments, of which the minority, now following Bolshevism, has already despaired, then the Socialist movement is apt to find itself compelled to accept Bolshevism as a means towards an end, and use it as a method towards attaining the Socialist commonwealth by the shortest, even if the bloodiest, route. The fate of Bolshevism is being decided at the council tables of the Allies fully as much as it is in Petrograd and Berlin."

Herr Müller deplored what he called the ignorance with regard to conditions in Central Europe that seems to prevail in the Allied countries. He said:

"For nearly four and a half years now passion has spoken on both sides. It is time for common sense and reason to speak now, or the world, having half bled to death in the war, will now consummate its ruin with a reign of terror. For while no one, not even the strongest advocates of Bolshevism, see in it more than a drastic temporary measure, it must not be forgotten that Bolshevism can in even a brief period be dreadfully destructive. We have seen examples of it in Russia. The peoples of Central Europe, after four years of pain and torture, are so attuned psychologically and so disordered mentally that the violent methods of Bolshevism can gain a hearing among them much more rapidly than they could had their mentality not been so frightfully disturbed by the chaos of war. This is something for the statesmen who frame the peace of the world to think about. It is either peace with democracy or peace with a sword."

Parsons and Politics.—There is a movement on foot in Britain to abolish the parliamentary and municipal disabilities of the clergy. At a meeting held recently the Bishop of Kensington said he was glad to have the opportunity of nailing to the counter the lie that the clergy were debarred from sitting in the House of Commons because they were State-paid officials. He objected entirely to the idea that the clergy were a separate class. They did not cease to be citizens by their ordination. He had no desire to see created "political parsons," but he did desire that religion should permeate our politics.

The good Bishop should, however, remember the fact that most of the villages of England have "political parsons," which were not created by Parliament, and these clergy seldom helped to permeate local politics with religion.

The Contemptible Little Army.—There is an instructive article in British *Contemporary Review* on William II. From it we glean the following interesting account of a story invented solely for propaganga purposes:

"When the war came it was generally believed in Allied countries that the Kaiser had assumed the supreme direction in fact as well as in name. Journalists and 'neutral correspondents' began to invent anecdotes and utterances to illustrate the fatuity of the Emperor's leadersip. Perhaps the best known of these was the famous army order about the 'contemptible little army.' This army order was said to have been issued at Aachen in the first fortnight of the war. It was afterwards officially stated in the *communique* issued by Grand Headquarters on October 25, 1914, that the Emperor had never been at Aachen, had not issued any army orders at that date, and had never used the words in question. No Government will officially deny a document which it has itself publicly issued. It really seems to be time that this story having amply played its part as 'Propaganda,' should pass to its place in the long gallery of historical untruths."

Which gallery will be long enough to hold all the historical untruths started by journaists and "neutral correspondents" during this war?

A Great Suffrage Leader.—In resigning the presidency of the British National Union of Suffrage Societies, Mrs. Fawcett brings to an end a career of activity few experience. Her work for woman's suffrage was earnest, constant and vigorous, over a very long period. She, however, is one of the favored who live to see the ideal fulfilled. She said to an interviewer:

"It is time I resigned. I am claiming my own demobilization. I have been at it strenuously for fifty years, helping the cause by public writing and speaking, but while I will still help I will no longer take the strenuous speaking tours I used to take. I am resigning from the executive as well as from the presidentship, for I have found the committee meetings exceedingly tiring. I have all my senses and do not think I fell really decrepit, but think I may claim a little less strenuous period of work."

FRANCIS NEILSON.

The Paris League and Its Covenant

Unquestionably none but a legal mind trained in international law can make an adequate analysis of the new "Covenant" just adopted at Paris. But even to the casual lay reader, a few points stand out, at least as question marks. May I point out a few of these in the hope that someone trained in legal and diplomatic intricacies will later throw more light upon the subject?

First of all, the lay reader is struck by certain omissions. There is no provision for "freedom of the seas"; no provision for the abolition or even the lessening of international tariffs, the frequent irritant of wars; no specific mention of the "self-determination of small nations" except as the promise to "preserve the territorial integrity of the member states" may in some cases maintain or allow self-determination. Nowhere is the right of revolution recognized or protected nor does any statement appear which would prevent such interference with internal governments or changes of governmental forms as the allied armies are now seeking to accomplish in Russia. Indeed, no specific statement is made regarding the sanctity of the internal affairs of each nation from interference by the league. And nowhere is it stated that all nations are invited to membership. And, as Mr. Duncan Clark pointed out in his analysis of this Constitution in the Chicago *Post,* war is nowhere outlawed but is "still recognized as a possible ultimate court of appeal." Are not some, if not all of these provisions essential to a real, democratic, war-abolishing federation of all the peoples of the world?

Those who have read the Constitution will recall that three separate bodies are created—(Article I) a *Secretariat;* an *Executive Council;* and a *Body of Delegates* whose powers are nowhere specifically defined other than in the phrase, later applied also to the Executive Council, that its meetings shall be "for the purpose of dealing with matters within the sphere of action of the League." (Article II.) Most of the specific duties mentioned are named as duties of the Executive Council.

It is the make-up and powers of this Executive Council which make it so hard for the lay reader to feel that this is a League of All Nations and not an alliance of the Allies similar to other alliances in the past. For this Executive Council shall consist of one member each from the *five* great allies, "the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, and representatives of *four* other member states to be selected by the Body of Delegates" (Article III) and is also to deal with "any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world." To this Council of nine as to a court of arbitration are to be brought all disputes between nations, although a dispute may be transferred (Article XV) to the Body of Delegates by the Council or either disputing nation if request is made within fourteen days after the appeal to the Executive Council. Later this Council of nine is "to formulate plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice, competent to determine any matter *which the parties to a dispute recognize as suitable for arbitration.*" (Article XIV.) (This phraseology and that in Article XIII seem to conflict with that of Articles XI and XII where "the high contracting parties agree *in no case* to resort to war without previously submitting the questions to arbitration or to the Executive Council." Moreover Article XIII seems to permit of the choice of any court or arbitrators preferred by the disputing countries instead of the Executive Council or the Permanent Court of International Justice.) This Council of nine also chooses the Secretary General of the Secretariat and approves all the appointments to the Secretariat which he makes.

Moreover, in addition to all these powers and many others which there is not space to repeat, is another power of the Executive Council which to the lay American mind, already alive to the dangers of non-amendable constitutions, which fasten upon far-distant generations the conditions prevailing at the time of adoption, seems perhaps the greatest danger of all. This constitution can be amended (Article XXVI) only by "ratification *by the states of the Executive Council* (*five* of whose *nine* members are the five great allied powers) *and* by three-fourths of the states whose representatives form the body of delegates." Does this not in effect mean that this constitution founded by the allied nations alone of all the world can never be changed in any particular so long as these five great powers remain united in their policy or are opposed to any proffered amendment? If so, can any of the points above enumerated as omitted be included within any reasonable period of years?

The all important question of membership in this league is one which I hope careful discussion by trained minds will make clear, harmonizing the various sections which refer to it.

Article VII says that "admission of states not signatory to the covenant and not named in the protocol as states to be invited to sign, requires the assent of two-thirds of the states in the Body of Delegates and *shall be limited to fully self governing countries, including dominions and colonies.*"

The "signatory states" presumably are the fourteen allied nations assembled at the peace table. Those "named in the protocol as states to be invited to sign" are still unknown. But does it not seem that the control of the body of delegates will eventually be in the hands of whatever nation has the greatest number of "dominions and colonies" which, though "fully self-governing," (?) are likely to find reasons for voting with the parent-nation?

Only a few advocates of even the most utopian forms of world federation have held that the world could immediately jump from its past age-long condition of almost continuous war into a condition where the rules of the federation could be enforced by moral or even by economic sanctions alone. Most believers in a warless world have been willing to admit the necessity of a transition period where some sort of international police force would be required. But they *have* presupposed that a world constitution whenever formed, would be made at a world assembly to which every nation on the globe would, or at least could, send representatives to help formulate that constitution. Practically all nations then would be willing to submit to rules they themselves had had a share in formulating. It is to be questioned whether the United States would even yet be a united and, internally, a warless nation had its constitution been made by Massachusetts, New York and Virginia and then forced upon the rest of the thirteen colonies by eco-

nomic or naval and military power and been amendable only by a council of which those three states were a majority. How can a constitution made by fourteen nations (even if adopted by the "invited" nations) be enforced upon the rest of the world in accordance with Article XVI (to say nothing of Article XVII), and result otherwise than in frequent combats between the armed forces controlled by the league and the armed forces, one after another, of the rest of the nations of the world? Article XVI provides that when a member state disregards the findings of the Court and goes to war, the league shall "prevent all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of that state and of *any* other state *whether a member of the league or not,* and the Executive Council shall in such case determine what effective *military or naval force* the members of the league shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used."

Can anyone state what chance there is, under this constitution, for the hopes of Russia, of Mexico, of India or Ireland, the Philippines, the German or Austrian Republics, all of which countries earnestly desire "self-determination"?

In addition to the obligations not to resort to war at least until after discussion, four particularly good points stand out:

One is the "reduction of national armament" (Article VIII). Whether naval or land or both is not specified—and it is only "to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement of international obligations," this point being determined for each nation by the Executive Council, "having special regard to the geographical situation and conditions of that nation."

A second point long urged by every liberal is that "The Executive Council is directed (Article VIII) to advise how the evil effects attendant on private manufacture of munitions can be prevented," although it is not clear whether private manufacture is to be prohibited, and "due regard is to be had to the necessities of those countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety."

Third: (Article XX) Fair labor conditions and a Bureau of Labor are pledged.

Finally: The matter of secret treaties is seemingly abolished forever. Article XXIII provides that all treaties shall be published by the Secretary and shall not be binding until so published. Section XXV provides for the abrogation of all existing treaties between members of the league, inconsistent with the Covenant.

In conclusion, may I say again that these are the questions of one who has hoped much from a league of all nations, and is eager to learn how this League can fulfill those hopes, which are in great measure the hopes of the plain people of the earth? They are offered not in a spirit of antagonism but in the hope of provoking real thought and discussion of the league, and authentic information as to its constitutional provisions.

SUSAN QUACKENBUSH.

February 16, 1919.

From Concord to Chicago

"Ah, did you once see Shelley plain,
And did he stop and speak to you
And did you speak to him again?
How strange it seems and new!"

In the passing hence of Mrs. Jane Barrett on February 1, another link to the past is broken. She was born in Concord, Massachusetts, February 14, 1836, into an atmosphere of poetic and historic interest. Her home was on an old farm, the house surrounded by tall elms. Like many another New England child, she went to school in the little country school-house and on Sundays drove to town to attend the double service in the old meeting house. But it was her great privilege to be born into perhaps the richest spiritual environment which America has ever had to offer any child. Emerson, Thoreau, and the Alcotts were her neighbors, and her recollections of them in her youth were a keen delight to the friends of after years. She remembered Thoreau's long walks—often interrupted by a chat with her father—who was also a lover of nature. There were many pleasant stories to relate of the Alcott family. She would tell of the various things Mrs. Alcott would do herself rather than call her husband "down from the Seventh Heaven" to help.

All through life, Emerson was Mrs. Barrett's great teacher. In the few weeks before the end came, she greatly enjoyed listening to the last two volumes of his Journals, and to his sketch of Thoreau. The scenes and the people mentioned in them were all familiar to her. The everyday saying and doings of these true New England democrats were public possessions and as heirlooms were handed down to the next generation. Her grandfathers helped to drive the British back at Concord Bridge, and she often repeated the story, to the great delight of those who heard her,—of the Redcoats who sought in vain for the ammunition cleverly secreted in the old farm house.

As a child, Mrs. Barrett was greatly interested in books and a treasured compliment came from her old school master when he said "she read with a tone." Life's experiences of joy and sorrow came to this New England maiden of the long ago. First a school teacher, and then in 1865 her marriage to James A. Barrett, after his return from the Civil War where he attained the rank of Major. He too hailed from Concord and his ancestors were hers also. Their life in Brooklyn, New York, was a happy one, and there the children, one son and three daughters, were reared. After Mr. Barrett's untimely death in 1885, the family sought the home town of Concord for shelter and companionship, and later, in 1890, moved to Chicago where the son was located.

In Brooklyn, John Chadwick was their friend and minister and his poetic and uplifting spirit was ever a comfort and help. With such an inheritance and environment, it was natural that Mrs. Barrett would find religious help and inspiration under the teaching and leadership of Jenkin Lloyd Jones, and just as natural that he should draw help and inspiration from such a parishioner.

He gloried in what he called her "fine New England conscience" and rested in the thought of her anchored faith. Her life was indeed rooted in the fundamental verities. She "believed in soul, was very sure of God." She knew the needs of the spirit,—hymn, prayer, and

ritual fed her soul and helped her as they helped him. She lived very close to the heart of the Eternal. Her life was nurtured by hidden springs; hence the poise and peace which radiated from her presence. It was strength, comfort, and encouragement to minister to such a life as Mrs. Barrett's Sunday after Sunday through so many years. How faithful she was to the Sunday services and study classes! How loyal and generous in her support of all that All Souls Church has tried to do! But after all, she herself was the greatest contribution that could be made to the life of any church—alert to every new question of the day, but gentle, quiet, unobtrusive, like the "meadow streamlets" that Whittier sings of, where "fresher green reveals alone the noiseless ways they go."

Mrs. Barrett's son, daughters and three grandchildren survive her. Her beautiful presence, her fine sense of duty and justice and her strong and ever helpful example of what an unselfish life may be will abide as precious memories to them and to her many friends.

It was a privilege to have entered into this fellowship and inheritance.

"Thanks be to God that such have been,
Though they are here no more."

E. LL. J.

THE MARTYR.

Over and over something said
"Life" to him whose life was going.
He stood beside his quicklime bed;
The winds of death would soon be blowing.

Fanlike, the level guns were spread.
They narrowed as he looked his last;
Written words were being read,
Words to whet the edge of knowing.

Scythe-like, sweeping to the mowing,
They sighted at his breast and head.
Waste on waste his dreams lay cast
Where for years the worlds were growing.

Suddenly the dark was past.
High his pathway gleamed ahead.
Bridges of the lightning's thread
Bore him through the moonless vast
Safe above that deadly flowing.

For his soul had cried aghast,
"If the blood already shed
And all saints' and ploughmen's sowing
Reach such wastage at the last,
I myself must yield the bread
Though the earth and heavens have passed;
Life shall never find me fled,
Death shall find my spirit glowing,
Find my pastures greenly spread
And the living streams unslowing."

—*Ridgely Torrence.*

OZYMANDIAS.

I met a traveler from an antique land
Who said: "Two vast and trunkless legs of stone
Stand in the desert. Near them, on the sand,
Half sunk, a shattered visage lies, whose frown,
And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command,
Tell that its sculptor well those passions read
Which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things,
The hand that mocked them and the heart that fed.
And on the pedestal these words appear—
"My name is Ozymandias, king of kings:
Look on my works, ye Mighty, and despair!"
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,
The lone and level sands stretch far away.

—*Shelley.*

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The Second Year

The Religions of the Elder World

V. Thebes and Its Temples

No house can stand, no kingdom can endure,
Built on the crumbling rock of self desire.

—*Edwin Markham.*

It is a far cry from the pyramid age to the empire represented by the vast buildings of Thebes, located at the bend of the Nile at the point closest to the Red Sea. The period of the pyramids might represent roughly the years from 3000 to 2500 B. C., while the period represented by the glory of Thebes is covered by the three or four hundred years between the sixteenth and twelfth centuries B. C.

Egypt by virtue of its geography was very much isolated, but by the middle of the sixteenth century it over-reached its boundaries and was the metropolis of the then civilized world. It embodied the large region of northeast Africa and southwest Asia. Its imperialism reacted very powerfully upon religion, upon the fundamentals of its architecture and upon the structure of Egyptian life socially and economically. All the great changes which came about were externally visualized in the form of magnificent buildings which even those of the pyramid age did not rival. The king who could look over this vast world with its wealth and mighty resources, began to have a new vision of God. The Egyptian god must be a universal god and the gods became operative in an enlarged world.

Thebes, the first great monumental city of antiquity, was planned as a synthetic whole, such a plan as we are liable to think very modern. The plan is that of a great water avenue and diverging from the Nile were imposing avenues of monuments.

Overlooking the Theban plain are myriads of tombs covered by sand. Forty of the great kings of Egypt who ruled the country in its imperial age were here laid to rest.

The first builder of a mortuary chapel was a woman; the first great woman in history that we know anything about. Hatshepsut was the daughter of Thutmose I. She married Thutmose II, her half brother, a common custom at that time, followed by Cleopatra's fore-elders. Hatshepsut very early relegated her husband to the background and surrounded herself with a coterie of powerful nobles, whom she seems to have successfully manipulated. She "adjusted the affairs of the two lands by reason of her designs; Egypt was made to labor with bowed head for her." By virtue of her rare administrative power and diplomatic skill she was able to bring Egypt to the zenith

of its power. She promoted mines in Sinai, established potteries and glass factories, built and restored temples, and launched a fleet of vessels on the Red Sea for commercial purposes which made a voyage of 1,600 miles to the gates of the Indian Ocean. Their destination was Punt, a name originally used for the home of the gods, but later applied to the Somali coast at the south end of the Red Sea and along the south side of the Gulf of Aden. A staff artist took this voyage and pictured with skill what he saw,—the natives of the land of Punt bringing trees, Egyptian soldiers with spears, a trader trafficking with the king of Punt, fish so clearly drawn that a pisciculturist can today recognize the species as still surviving in the Red Sea. From the staff artist's pictures the fauna and flora may be studied as well as the many animals. Here we learn of the first acclimatization of trees and plants which we know anything about. One relief shows vessels landing at Thebes and another the transportation of two obelisks. The obelisks were towed on a large barge 250 feet long, engaging 960 oarsmen. So came the obelisk which is now standing and its fallen, broken mate, magnificent monoliths, of which the Queen says, "Their height pierces to heaven, illuminating the two lands like the sun disk. Never was done the like since the beginning."

One writer says of her temple at Dêr-el-Bahri:

> Except for the sculptures on its wall the temple bears no resemblance to other sacred buildings. Lying at the foot of hills that rise sheer upward for 400 feet, and constructed in three terraces, where the hills slope gradually to the plain, the slender colonnades appear to support the whole weight of the cliffs overhead. Its own columns are whitish, like mellowed ivory. The whole material of the temple is limestone, yellowed with age where the sun falls on it, still dazzling white in places of shade, and in either instance providing a surface on which the rich pigments of Egyptian art, faded or vivid, are displayed in astonishing beauty.

The Queen made of this temple her biographer. She not only sought to build a remarkable monument but to perpetuate her place in history. All her many activities are here visualized, revealing the forceful personality of the most dominant monarch of her dynasty.

When this Queen succumbed, Thutmose III came into power and proved a powerful monarch. He promptly organized an army and plunged into Asia with a fine understanding of strategy. His story might almost be taken for that of General Allenby's advance. Aleppo, Byblos and other towns bearing biblical names figure in his campaigning.

From the Nile may be seen the colonnades of the Temple of Luxor, the towered front, the court, and beyond the Holy of Holies. The temple is described as one of the finest of the monuments of ancient Thebes. It is of enormous dimensions, its columns classic Egyptian painted in natural hues. Two thousand years of human history is represented by it and by the great volume of written history on its walls. Egyptian temples differed from the Greek in that they were never complete units but kept on growing as Christian cathedrals have kept on growing.

We now realize that the tomb is no longer a pyramid. As a great protective husk the pyramid did not succeed in sheltering the body of the pharaoh. The Egyptians had been disillusioned. In the desolation of their cemeteries they had seen the failure of materialism and pessimism resulted which is clearly defined in documents dated 2000 B. C.

At Karnak, which is the modern name for the northern half of the ruins of Thebes, is the famous avenue of sphinxes or rams put there by the father of monotheism, Amenhotop III, and leading to the temple of Amen-Ra, one of the most tremendous monuments ever erected. One writer says of it:

> Compared with this temple even the greatest of modern religious edifices is insignificant. The hypstyle hall was in the smallest of the three groups of buildings of which the temple was composed. It measured 170 feet by 329 feet and yet it occupied less than one-seventh of the entire length of the temple. A clearer idea of the size of this hall may be gained when it is stated that the great Cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris could be put into it and there would still be plenty of room to spare.

The hundred and thirty-four columns are impossible to photograph. Their immensity is difficult to suggest. On the capital of each of the columns a hundred men could stand. This temple suggests a forgotten world. It is "like some past geologic age pregnant with forces which have long since done their work, and of which there is not a single whisper round about." The construction is not the finest and not the best. Egypt had passed the brink of the hill and was already noticeably on the decline. Yet even Ruskin was obliged to confess that it is possible to reach proportions where mere size, irrespective of form, does tell.

Across from Karnak is the Ramesseum, the mortuary temple and perhaps the finest work of the reign of Ramses II, who was not only a leader in military affairs but also in art and religion. This temple contains paintings which seem as fresh and beautiful today as when the painter first left the tomb. Before it Ramses erected a huge portrait statue of himself, weighing a thousand tons of which only a fragment is left. We are told it was moved 940 miles from the first cataract by no power other than the strength of man, and called forth the lines of Shelley in "Ozymandias."

The majesty of the state, the greatness of imperial Egypt is expressed here in architectural form. Here also is expressed the supreme personality of the king, the creator of this marvel whose figure is found on every hand dominating the place. And more than that, the mastery of God is set forth. A gorgeous ritual with observances for every day in the year had for its main idea the supremacy of the king as leader and representative of the people. Thus the whole machinery of government was religious and through the idea of the supreme king came to the Egyptians the idea of monotheism. As there was a sole ruler in the political domain so there must be in the domain of the gods.

QUESTIONS.

(1) When was Egypt transformed into a military empire?

(2) What effect did the imperialism of the period of the empire have on religion?

(3) What do we find expressed in the wonderful architecture of Thebes?

(4) Can you trace in the imperialistic development of this period the growth of the monotheistic idea of God?

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

FOURTEEN POINTS OF LABOR —THE NEW LABOR PARTY PLATFORM.

RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

1. The unqualified right of workers to organize to deal collectively with employers through such representatives of their unions as they choose.

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.

2. Democratic control of industry and commerce for the general good by those who work with hand and brain, and the elimination of autocratic domination of the forces of production and distribution either by selfish private interests or bureaucratic agents of government.

8-HOUR DAY AND MINIMUM WAGE.

3. An 8-hour day and a 44-hour week in all branches of industry, with minimum rates of pay which, without the labor of mothers and children, will maintain the worker and his family in health and comfort, and provide a competence for old age, with ample provision for recreation and good citizenship.

ABOLITION OF UNEMPLOYMENT

4. Abolition of unemployment by the creation of opportunity for steady work at standard wages through the stabilization of industry and the establishment, during periods of depression, of government work on housing, road-building, reforestation, reclamation of desert and swamp, and the development of ports and waterways.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR MEN AND WOMEN.

5. Complete equality of men and women in government and industry, with the fullest enfranchisement of women, and equal pay for men and women doing similar work.

STOP PROFITEERING.

6. Reduction of the cost of living to a just level, immediately and as a permanent policy, by the development of co-operation, and the elimination of wasteful methods, parasitical middlemen and all profiteering in the creation and distribution of the products of industry and agriculture, in order that the actual producers may enjoy the fruits of their toil.

ABOLISH KAISERISM IN EDUCATION.

7. Democratization of education in public schools and universities through the participation of labor and the organized teachers in the determination of methods, policies and programs in this fundamental field.

EXTENSION OF SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' INSURANCE TO ALL WORKERS.

8. Continuation after the war of soldiers' and sailors' insurance; extension of such life insurance, by the government without profit, to all men and women; and the establishment of governmental insurance against accident and illness, and upon all insurable forms of property.

TAX INHERITANCE, INCOMES, AND LAND VALUES TO PAY WAR DEBT AND GOVERNMENT EXPENSES.

9. Liquidation of the national debt by the application of all inheritances above a hundred thousand dollars, supplemented as may be necessary by a direct capital tax upon all persons and corporations where riches have been gained by war or other profiteering; and payment of the current expenses of government by graduated income taxes, public profits from nationally owned utilities and resources, and from a system of taxation of land values which will stimulate rather than retard production.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES —NATIONALIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES TO FURNISH EMPLOYMENT FOR RETURNING SOLDIERS AND SAILORS AND DISLOCATED WAR-WORKERS.

10. Public ownership and operation of railways, steamships, stockyards, grain elevators, terminal markets, telegraphs, telephones, and all other public utilities; and the nationalization and development of basic natural resources, waterpower and unused land, with the repatriation of large holdings, to the end that returning soldiers and sailors and dislocated war-workers may find an opportunity for an independent livelihood.

RESTORATION OF FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS, AND FREE ASSEMBLAGE.

11. Complete restoration, at the earliest possible moment, of all fundamental political rights—free speech, free press, and free assemblage; the removal of all war-time restraints upon the interchange of ideas and the movement of people among communities and nations; and the liberation of all persons held in prison or indicted under charges due to their championship of the rights of labor or their patriotic insistence upon the rights guaranteed to them by the constitution.

LABOR REPRESENTATION IN ALL DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT—AND ALL GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES OF DEMOBILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION.

12. Representation of labor, in proportion to its voting strength, in all departments of government and upon all governmental commissions and agencies of demobilization and reconstruction; and recognition of the principles of trade unionism in the relocation of soldiers, sailors and war workers in peace pursuits, with adequate provision for the support and extension of the Department of Labor as the principal agency therefor.

LABOR REPRESENTATION IN PEACE CONFERENCE.

13. Representation of the workers, in proportion to their numbers in the armies, navies and workshops of the world, at the peace conference and upon whatever international tribunals may result therefrom, with the labor of this nation represented by the President of the American Federation of Labor and such other delegates as the workers may democratically designate.

AN END TO KINGS AND WARS.

14. Supplementing the League of Nations, and to make that instrument of international democracy vitally effective for humanity, a league of the workers of all nations pledged and organized to enforce the destruction of autocracy, militarism and economic imperialism throughout the world, and to bring about world-wide disarmament and open diplomacy, to the end that there shall be no more kings and no more wars.

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[Among relics of the Civil War are swords which were not sold.]

Hangs on the wall a clean, bright blade;
Oh—gaze upon it—un-afraid—
Around it lurks no gruesome shade—
The sword which never went to war!

No human gore its steel makes dim—
Its smooth edge breathes no horror grim,
Ne'er has it heard the burial hymn—
The sword which never went to war!

It ne'er has made the widow groan—
Nor harkened the sad orphan's moan;
And hath a glory all its own—
The sword which never went to war!

Ah—wave it that war-flags be furled;
That weapons all afar be hurled—
Then kneel beneath it—happy world—
The sword that never went to war!

—EMMA N. CARLETON.

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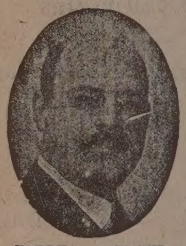

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